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ABSTRACT

This paper examines efforts to reverse language shift in two indigenous communities in southern Ecuador. The ongoing decline and rapid pace of extinction of many of the world's languages have received increasing amounts of attention, but while processes of language loss and extinction have been extensively studied, relatively little work of similar scope and detail has addressed the processes and prospects for language revitalization. Findings are presented from ethnographic work investigating language use, language attitudes, and language instruction in two Andean communities that are attempting to revitalize their once native Quechua. Results indicate that for different reasons, in neither community is Quechua transmission occurring successfully, and reveal how and why communities that are socially, economically, and culturally secure are most likely to be supportive of and participate in language revitalization efforts. (MSE)

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Language Revitalization Processes and Prospects:
Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes

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This article examines efforts to reverse language shift in two indigenous communities of southern Ecuador. The ongoing decline and rapid pace of extinction of many of the world's languages have received increasing amounts of attention. Yet while the linguistic and social processes of language loss and language death have been extensively investigated and analyzed, relatively little work of similar scope and detail has addressed the processes of and prospects for language revitalization. The paper presents findings from ethnographic work which investigated language use, language attitudes, and language instruction in two Andean communities which are attempting to revitalize their once native Quichua. The study finds that for different reasons in neither community is Quichua transmission occurring successfully and reveals how and why communities which are socially, economically, and culturally secure are most likely to be supportive of and participate in language revitalization efforts.

LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION; QUICHUA; BILINGUAL EDUCATION; ECUADOR

This paper examines efforts to reverse language shift in two indigenous communities of the southern Ecuadorian Andes and aims to provide new insight into the processes of and prospects for language revitalization. The ongoing decline and rapid extinction of many of the world's languages have received increasing amounts of attention from linguists and anthropologists alike. Krauss and others estimate that fully half of the world's estimated 6,000 languages are presently endangered (1992). Calculations based on the relatively small number of 'safe' languages, those which enjoy official state support and relatively large numbers of speakers, suggest that by the year 2100, 90% of the world's languages will be either moribund or extinct.

In recent years, as large numbers of groups have confronted the loss of their native tongues, language revitalization has begun to receive both academic and applied attention. Academic interest is evidenced by volumes such as Hinton's Flutes of fire (1994), which describes the struggles of California Indian groups to recapture their linguistic heritage; Hornberger's edited volume, Indigenous literacies in the Americas: Language planning from the bottom up (1996), a compilation of articles addressing native language education efforts by indigenous and non-indigenous scholars; Jon Reyhner's Teaching indigenous languages (1997), an edited collection of articles from the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium; and Henze and Davies's edited volume of Anthropology and Education Quarterly (to appear), which addresses issues of authenticity and identity in indigenous language revitalization and education in the Pacific Rim.

Concern for the loss of indigenous and local languages has also been demonstrated at the institutional level. Recent years have seen the establishment of multiple international non-profit organizations on the behalf of threatened languages. Among these are Russell Bernard's indigenous language literary development project in Oaxaca, Mexico, where native language speakers use computers to write and publish works in their autochthonous tongues (Bernard, 1992); Terralingua, which aims to promote awareness of the need to preserve linguistic diversity; and most recently, IPOLA (Institute for the Preservation of the Indigenous Languages of the

Americas), which assists groups in the Americas attempting to revive their native tongues (C. Sturges Gerlach, personal communication, May 14, 1997).[1]

In addition, national, regional, and community initiatives to revitalize threatened native languages have been undertaken in locations as diverse as New Zealand, the Hawaiian islands, Ireland, and Alaska. Although many programs have made and are representative of substantial social and political gains, relatively few have succeeded in 'rescuing' the endangered language from decline; fewer still have returned the displaced language to a primary or mother tongue in the community.

One possible explanation for the lack of success of many efforts is the fact that most revitalization initiatives 'have quickly and naturally, almost as a matter of course, moved to emphasize schools and schooling as the central thrust and process of the entire endeavor' (Fishman, 1991:368). Indeed, around the globe, nearly all language revitalization efforts have focused on educational institutions as the primary agent for promoting and transmitting the threatened tongue. In Ireland, for example, 'the school has been the chief agency for generating ability in the Irish language on a national scale since the 1920's' (Benton, 1986:58). In New Zealand, the initial and major component of Maori revitalization efforts since 1982 has been the kohanga reos (language nests), educational centers for preschoolers (Nicholson & Garland, 1991). In the United States, one of the most well-known Native American language maintenance and revitalization efforts is based in the programs of the Rough Rock Community School on the Navajo reservation in northeastern Arizona (McCarty & Dick, 1996).

Yet, while many advocates and planners continue to rest their hopes for language revitalization on educational institutions, there is considerable reason for skepticism and pessimism concerning the extent to which school programs alone can impart and promote a threatened tongue (Fishman, 1991; Hornberger & King, 1996; McCarty & Dick, 1996). Indeed, evidence from numerous cases (including those mentioned above) suggests that language revitalization efforts which rely primarily

on educational institutions only have a limited linguistic impact on their communities. Furthermore, school-based initiatives often run the risk of converting the threatened language into a 'school language,' and hence moving the language further still from everyday spoken interaction (Benton, 1986; Fishman, 1991).

The tendency to heavily rely on formal educational institutions for primary transmission and revitalization of the threatened language, coupled with the overall lack of success of language revitalization initiatives, is due, at least in part, to the lack of information concerning the linguistic and socio-cultural processes of language revitalization. Study of language shift has been unevenly balanced towards the negative side of the ledger, with 'studies of revival, restoration, revitalization remain(ing) proportionately few and far between' (Fishman, 1990:6). Although there have been numerous overviews of language revitalization efforts [e.g. Benton (1986); Fishman (1991); Paulston, Chen, & Connerty (1993)], there are a limited number of community based and ethnographically oriented studies. These are precisely the sort of investigations necessary to understand the social, cultural, and linguistic processes of language revitalization.

This paper seeks to adjust this imbalance and adds to a growing body of knowledge by providing insights into the social, cultural, and economic dynamics of language revitalization. With this aim, the present study investigates the processes of and prospects for language revitalization among the Saraguros, an indigenous group of the southern Ecuadorian Andes. Data were collected through long term, ethnographic research in the region, through participant observation in the schools and communities and formal and informal interviews with teachers, parents, children, and indigenous leaders.

Analysis of the Saraguro case suggests that language revitalization must be understood as a process which is dependent upon the cultural orientation of the group and embedded in the socio-economic development of the language communities. Thus far, the importance of ethnic identity and the

varied roles which the threatened language may (or may not) play in sustaining it has not been fully recognized. Equally important, yet also frequently overlooked, is the socio-economic status of the community attempting to revitalize its language. The Saraguro case underlines the importance of both of these factors and demonstrates how and why language revitalization initiatives are more likely to be undertaken, supported, and ultimately successful among groups who view their language as a critical component of their ethnic identity, and who are themselves socially and economically secure.

The Saraguro Context

The Saraguros are an indigenous group numbering roughly 22,000 who primarily reside in approximately sixty rural communities scattered around the largely white town of Saraguro in the southern highlands of Ecuador. The Saraguros are members of the Quichua nation, yet constitute an ethnically distinct group whose clothing and hair style makes them nationally and locally identifiable.[2] Indigenous groups occupy each of Ecuador's three distinct eco-systems. The highland sierra is inhabited by regionally dispersed and ethnically varied groups such as the Salasacans, Saraguros, Cañaris, and Otavaleños, which are all part of the Quichua-speaking nation.[3] In the Amazon basin and the western tropical regions reside eight other distinct nations, each with their own language (Benítez & Garcés, 1992). Together, indigenous people constitute between 20% and 45% of the Ecuadorian population.[4] Of the nine indigenous nations, the Quichua speakers, with over two million members, are by far the largest.

While the indigenous groups of Ecuador are extremely diverse, they have been unusually successful in politically organizing along ethnic lines for a range of collective goals. In the 1970s and 1980s, as the membership and political skills of indigenous groups grew, the indigenous population achieved a number of significant policy goals in the areas of education, land rights, and legal representation. An important gain was formal government recognition of the Confederación

de Nacionalidades Indígenas de Ecuador (CONAIE; 'Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador') in 1986, which continues to serve as the umbrella organization and official representative body for all indigenous groups in the country. Intertwined with this increased 'political space' for the indigenous organizations is the growth in ethnic consciousness among many indigenous groups in the country, including the Saraguros (Selverston, 1993; von Gleich, 1994).

Despite the recent surge in ethnic consciousness across the nation and within the Saraguro region, the Saraguros are in the process of shifting from Quichua dominance to Spanish dominance. Presently, most of the children and many of the young adults are monolingual in Spanish. Nonetheless, the Saraguros overwhelmingly self-identify as indigenous, mark themselves as such with their distinctive clothing and hair style, and participate in community organization and ritual. Throughout the last decade, as indigenous consciousness has increased, use of the indigenous tongue has continued to decline in Saraguro. The lack of Quichua competence and use has increasingly become a source of concern and even embarrassment for some Saraguros.

As a result of the embarrassment and concern, many Saraguros communities have discussed the importance of revitalizing Quichua and the need for both children and adults to acquire the language through formal and informal instruction. Saraguro parents have demanded that the community schools be charged with the instruction and transmission of Quichua language and culture. Such requests, and parental participation in the schools in general, are relatively new phenomena. Progressive shifts in national indigenous education policy, largely the result of successful demands by national indigenous organizations, made such aspirations realistic.

The most critical of these national changes was Decree 203, passed in May of 1990, which designated that all public schools which served primarily indigenous students be placed under the jurisdiction of the newly created Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe

(DINEIIB: National Directorate of Bilingual Indigenous Intercultural Education). At the local level, this meant that certain community and regional indigenous leaders in Saraguro were charged with the administration of indigenous education through the Dirección de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe de Loja (Loja Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education), known locally as the Dirección (Directorate). The newly created regional directorate encouraged community school teachers to develop programs to teach Quichua; the particular design of the programs and pedagogy was left up to each school and community.

In subsequent years, this new-found educational administrative autonomy, coupled with the concern about the loss of Quichua, allowed Saraguros to establish Quichua as a second language programs in many communities and schools. Two of these communities are Tambopamba and Lagunas, where the stated goals of the community leaders and school officials are, in their words, to rescatar (rescue) and revitalizar (revitalize) the Quichua language.

Language revitalization is, most simply, the attempt to add new forms or functions to a threatened language with the aim of increasing its uses or users (King, to appear). The profile of a threatened language consists of 'evidence of fewer and fewer speakers, a reduction in the use of the language, more association with speakers of the more prestigious language, an increase in the need for bilingualism and in the number of bilinguals, less and less acquisition of the mother tongue, and an increase in the age of the fluent speakers' (Blair & Fredeen, 1995:32). Efforts to revitalize a threatened language attempt to abate this processes, typically through the instruction of the language to new speakers and the expansion of the language's use to new domains. The remainder of this article addresses why and how language revitalization efforts are developing differently in two Saraguro communities.

Language Competencies

Prior to examining efforts to teach and promote the language in the home and school, it is necessary to first understand the present levels of Quichua competence in the two communities. Like nearly all communities in the midst of linguistic shift, language competencies in Lagunas and Tambopamba vary by age. In both communities, the oldest members tend to be Quichua dominant, and the younger residents Spanish dominant or Spanish monolingual. While the general contour of language competencies in the two communities is similar, the distribution and pace of the development of these competencies are distinct.

A critical difference is that in Lagunas language shift from Quichua to Spanish is roughly one generation 'ahead' of Tambopamba. For example, only Lagunas residents who are over the age of sixty learned Quichua as their first language; in Tambopamba, both the middle aged (46-60) and the oldest adults (61 and older) are Quichua dominant. These middle aged and older Tambopamba adults were raised in monolingual Quichua homes, and speaking Quichua as their first, and in some cases only, language; in contrast, 'middle aged' Lagunas adults (45-60) are the most fully bilingual of the community.

Lagunas adults aged thirty-one to forty-five, were the first in the community to grow up speaking primarily Spanish from infancy. Most young adults (15-30) and nearly all children of Lagunas (0-15) speak very little Quichua. Some understand a few basic words and commands; most know very little of the language. Although most young people of Lagunas are nearly monolingual in Spanish, there are a number of adults in Lagunas who purposefully are learning Quichua as a second language through self-study or university course work; the proficiency of these individuals varies widely.

In Tambopamba, Quichua is also clearly on the decline; however, the shift towards Spanish has not progressed as far. Almost all adults aged thirty-one to forty-five are fully bilingual. The young

adults (16-30) and children of the community are Spanish dominant, but many have substantial receptive abilities and limited productive skills in Quichua.

The significant variation in language competencies between Lagunas and Tambopamba members is largely the result of the location of the two communities. Lagunas lies adjacent to the Pan American Highway and just above the white town of Saraguro, one of the larger commercial centers in the region. Tambopamba lies several hours away from town by foot; relative to Lagunas, it is geographically and socially isolated. For Lagunas members, the proximity of the town and the highway allowed for frequent contact with Spanish speakers. As a result of this intense contact, Lagunas members have long been exposed to prejudice, harassment, and discrimination for using Quichua, as well as made aware of the economic, communicative, and scholastic advantages of speaking Spanish fluently. Not surprisingly, Lagunas and the other communities close to the town of Saraguro were among the first Saraguro communities to be 'pushed' away from Quichua, and 'pulled' towards Spanish. The community-wide shift likely coincided with the construction of the Pan American Highway in the 1930s and subsequent economic 'boom' in the region (Belote, 1984). While many of the factors which led to language loss in Tambopamba are similar to those mentioned above (e.g., harassment for speaking Quichua and strong economic incentives for learning Spanish), because the contact with the non-indigenous world was less intense, language shift began later, occurred more slowly, and has not yet progressed as far.

Intertwined with the location of the communities and the language competencies of their members is a further disparity concerning occupational choices and formal education. While many in Lagunas have gone on to high school in the town of Saraguro, and some even to university and graduate study in the nation's largest cities, Tambopamba members spend relatively few years at school. Most Tambopamba parents have two or three years of formal education, and a small minority go on to complete high school. Furthermore, while nearly all Tambopamba members are engaged exclusively in agricultural work, raising sheep and cattle for cash and working small plots

of land for familial food consumption. Lagunas is home to many professionals, including primary school teachers, educational administrators, development workers, and health care professionals.[5]

Thus, geography, language competencies, and the social and educational status of Lagunas and Tambopamba members are intertwined. Location near town means that Lagunas members had the access and incentive to acquire Spanish; their Spanish competence bolstered their success in educational and business realms. For Tambopamba residents, their isolation meant less opportunity and incentive to learn Spanish and limited their participation in non-indigenous social and economic sectors. These related factors critically impact not only language use and language attitudes, but as will be demonstrated below, determine the nature of language revitalization in the communities.

Language Use

Critical to the success of language revitalization initiatives is the acquisition of the language by young adults and children. Analysis of language use in the community provides a window not only for understanding patterns of language distribution and language attitudes, but for predicting the language development of the youth. As would be expected given the language competencies of most Saraguros, Spanish is the principle language of communication in Tambopamba and Lagunas. In both communities, however, Quichua plays important roles and fulfills specific, although varied, functions.

Quichua use in the communities is understood best through an approach grounded in the ethnography of communication. Based on analysis of speech acts and the speech events and the situations in which they occur, and organized under Hymes' SPEAKING mnemonic (1967; 1974:53-62; 1989:59-71), the selection of Quichua for the channel of communication or instrumentality (I) in Tambopamba and Lagunas is dependent upon five components of the speech

act or event: the setting and scene (S), the 'participants' (P), the goals or 'ends' (E), the content or 'act' (A), and the tone and manner or 'key' (K).[6]

Language use in Tambopamba

Spanish predominates in most Tambopamba homes and fields, as well as its church and community meeting room. However, Quichua also has important functional roles in the community. Viewed within Hymes' framework, use of Quichua is associated with four factors: the participants (P), the content (A) and key (K) of the message, and the setting and scene (S) of the speech act or event.

Turning first to participants (P), age is the critical component: Quichua is used most regularly among the community's oldest residents. In all contexts, adults over the age of sixty speak Quichua amongst themselves and it is considered polite and appropriate for younger adults to use Quichua with these Tambopamba elders. However, given that children and young adults' Quichua competence is very low, Spanish use cannot always be avoided in the company of elders. When multiple generations interact, as one young Tambopamba woman explains, members generally are 'mezclando en quichua y en castellano--mayores en quichua, con los niños en castellano' (mixing Quichua and Castilian--elders in Quichua, with the children in Castilian /S/) (T 12b).[7] As the following vignette illustrates, adults frequently talk 'up' to elders in Quichua, and 'down' to children in Spanish.

> Miguel's father is visiting. He enters the kitchen where Miguel's wife and I are cooking and cleaning. The children are already eating at a long cement table. He stands silent for a moment watching them. Miguel's wife, Lola, addresses the children in Spanish, telling the youngest child that there is no more food, 'ya no hay más' (there isn't any more /S/). She then turns to her father-in-law and comments to him, 'achca micunata micun' (they eat a lot of food /Q/).
>
> (FN 714: 2-15-95)

For the duration of his visit, Miguel's father only spoke Quichua. He was addressed by Miguel and his wife in Quichua; only the children spoke Spanish to him, with the parents sometimes translating between the elder and younger generations.

Quichua is also associated with personal or intimate content of a speech event or act (A) in Tambopamba. Often, as in the example below, the official part of a conversation between adults occurs in Spanish (e.g. requesting items, stating prices) and the personal or private portion in Quichua.

> A woman in her late forties approaches Rosa's store on a warm afternoon.
> Rosa: Alli chishi. (Good afternoon. /Q/)
> Woman: Alli chishi. Imashinalla? (Good afternoon. How are you? /Q/). A ver, una media libra de azúcar y cuatro pancitos. (Let's see, a half pound of sugar and four rolls. /S/)
> (Rosa disappears into the store and returns a moment later with a small bag of granulated sugar and home baked rolls.)
> Rosa: Ya. Novecientos. (All right. Nine hundred [sucres]. /S/). Imata rura canpac hijo? Caipichu? (What is your son doing? Is he here? /Q/)
> Woman: Mana caipichu. Paica Yacuambipi. (He's not here. He's in Yacuambi. /Q/)
> (FN 487: 12-15-94)

As is commonly the case in Tambopamba, the official discourse is conducted in Spanish; when the content is personal, the interlocutors of a certain age opt for Quichua.

Similarly, when the tone or key (K) of the speech event is humorous, Quichua is the selected channel. Nearly all interviewees in Tambopamba reported that Quichua was the best language for joking. As the following vignette illustrates and as one member explained, Quichua is used 'más por decir una broma, un chiste' (more for kidding around, saying a joke /S/) (T 20).

> Early in the evening at Delfina and Luis's house, Delfina, Luis, several of their older children, and I are in the small kitchen. We are making humitas (sweet corn cakes cooked in the corn husks /S/); the first stage entails removing the ripe kernels of corn from the cob. I was unsuccessfully smashing the kernels rather than popping them off in whole pieces the way Delfina and her eldest son were doing with ease. Amused at my clumsy fingers, Delfina said to her husband, 'mana ishcan puede, piru jarita mashca (she can't do it, but she is looking for a man /Q/). This caused all of us, even her usually taciturn teenage son, to laugh.
> (FN 883: 4-13-95)

Delfina, her family, and I usually spoke Spanish together. Delfina did not choose to make her comment in Quichua so that I could not understand her--she knew I would. Rather she chose Quichua because it is the 'instrument' of humor. The selection of Quichua served to defuse a potentially insulting comment (that I was hopeless in the kitchen, yet still hoping to marry); by

articulating her remark in Quichua rather than Spanish, it was clear that she meant it to be taken in a lighthearted manner.

The fourth and final variable which influences Quichua selection in Tambopamba is the setting or scene (S) of the speech event. In two particular settings, fiestas (parties /S/) and mingas (Andean communal work gatherings /Q/), Quichua is more frequently chosen than in other situations. As the president of the community of Tambopamba explained, 'en una fiesta, en una minga se usa más' (in a party, in a minga one uses [Quichua] more /S/) (T 21b). This is in part due to the often disproportionately high numbers of elderly members present at these events, and because a substantial amount of communication at fiestas and mingas is of a humorous and intimate sort. However, the higher rate of Quichua use is also is connected to the particular setting and scene.

The higher proportion of talk in Quichua at mingas and fiestas is related to the fact that both of these are perceived to be 'traditional,' indigenous settings. The minga is an important event for practical reasons, serving as a central source of labor for public and private works, but is also important for symbolic reasons, as a form of collaboration and organization specific to indigenous peoples. Residents are proud of the maintenance of this practice and aware that it is an organizational system specific to indigenous persons. Similarly, although fiesta is a Spanish loan word, community parties are perceived as part of indigenous life and ritual.

Quichua use in Tambopamba, then, is clearly associated with specific characteristics of the speech situation: elder participants, personal content, humorous intent, and two traditional settings or scenes. However, while each of these characteristics greatly increases the likelihood that Quichua will be selected, clearly delineated domains, or 'constellations of factors such as location, topic, and participants' which determine language choice, do not exist (Fasold, 1992:183). There is no 'Quichua only' domain, for example in the home, among family members, for personal talk (cf. Hornberger, 1988: 108). Although there were almost certainly Quichua-only domains in the past,

Spanish has made in-roads into seemingly every speech situation, and presently, only what might be the traces of former domains are left. Tambopamba, then, is not a diglossic community, in which languages are 'functionally differentiated' in their distribution (Fishman, 1972:92). As such, bilingualism in the community is extremely unstable and almost certainly a transitional phase leading to Spanish monolingualism.

Language use in Lagunas

Language shift has progressed considerably further in Lagunas; even the traces of former domains no longer exist. Language shift has advanced so far that Spanish not only occupies formal and public domains in the community, as is often the case during the initial stages of language shift (Hill, 1983; Garzon, 1992), but is also a prime language of communication in the home and among family. However, in Lagunas, Quichua is employed for two new functions among new users--neither of which exist in Tambopamba. Quichua use in Lagunas is primarily associated with two goals or ends (E): language development, and expression or assertion of ethnic identity.

Turning first to language development, while Spanish predominates in the community and parents do not use Quichua in their homes for everyday communication, some do make a point of using Quichua 'para enseñar a los niños' (in order to teach the children /S/) (T 14b). Many Lagunas parents report attempting to develop their children's Quichua language skills.

> Cada día habla mi esposo palabras y frases pequeñas con ellos.
> (Every day my husband speaks words and little phrases to them. /S/) (T 8b)
>
> Escuchan palabras, vocabularios que enseñamos poco a poco.
> ([The children] hear words, vocabulary that we teach little by little. /S/) (T 6a)

Some parents make a game out of instruction, as is the case in the vignette below.

> Lola and I are sitting in front of her house. She is playing with her son and quizzing him on the parts of the body in Quichua.
>
> Lola: Maitaj ñahui? (Where are your eyes? /Q/)
> Luchito: (covers both of his eyes with both hands)
> Lola: Maitaj shimi? (Where is your mouth? /Q/)
> Luchito: (silent and motionless)

> Lola: Dónde está tu boca? (Where is your mouth? /S/)
> Luchito: Aquí! (Here! /S/) (covering his mouth with both hands)
>
> (FN 757: 3-15-95)

The primary goal (E) of these speech events is the instruction and acquisition of Quichua. Such instruction in most homes, however, is brief and sporadic, and as mentioned by the parents above, the basis of instruction is frequently simple, concrete vocabulary, points to which we will return below.

In addition to attempts to instruct their children, some adults in the community practice the language between or amongst themselves. The primary goal of such exchanges is not interpersonal communication, but rather, intentional practice for language development and fluency. As one Lagunas woman explained, she and her husband use Quichua occasionally 'con el fin de practicar nosotros, para rescatar el idioma, para no olvidar' (with the goal of practicing, in order to rescue the language, to not forget. /S/) (T 17a).

The second major use of Quichua in the community is employment of the language for assertion or expression of Saraguro indigenous identity. Unlike Quichua use in Tambopamba, Quichua use by Lagunas members is 'marked' usage which affirms or alters the established relationship between or among interlocutors by consciously attempting to overtly identify with one ethnic or social group or another (Myers-Scotton 1983; 1993).[8] In Lagunas, Quichua usage is frequently a marked and overt attempt to express ethnic identity and affirm one's pro-indigenous political stance. Such an intent is salient in the interaction below.

> From my room I hear the classmates of my housemate Miguel arrive. They are enrolled in a teacher professionalization course and have come to complete their final projects. 'Se puede?' (May I? /S/). 'Venga, venga no más' (Come in, just come in /S/), says Miguel, encouraging them to pass through the door. As they enter, they then switch to Quichua to greet one another.
>
> Miguel: Alli chishi mashicuna. (Good afternoon friends. /Q/)
> Classmates: Alli chishi. Alli chishi. (Good afternoon. Good afternoon. /Q/)
> Miguel: Alli chishi. Imashinalla? (Good afternoon. How are you? /Q/)
> Classmate: Bueno, parece que tenemos much que hacer.... (Well, it seems that we have a lot to do.../S/)
>
> (FN 822: 4-3-95)

Much of the course sponsored by the local Saraguro Dirección emphasizes the importance of promoting, acquiring, and revitalizing Quichua. Influenced by the course, Miguel and his classmates, by speaking in their second language, not only express their commitment to the course and its pro-Quichua agenda, but also reveal their linguistic skills and affirm their indigenous identity. It is telling, however, that Quichua use is limited to the largely ritualistic and formal portion of the interaction, while Spanish is used for the more content-oriented aspects. When the men get down to business of the visit, the channel of communication switches immediately to Spanish.

Quichua use in the attempt to actively assert or even promote their indigenous identity is common among Lagunas members. While not able or not willing to use the language in everyday conversation, Lagunas residents, especially the younger and more politicized, assert and affirm their indigenous identity by employing the marked language in short, often conventionalized interactions. The same pattern of marked language use for overt expression of ethnicity that we saw in the home is also evident at the community level.

Promoting and asserting indigenous ethnic identity, rather than communicating message content is the primary goal of Quichua use in many community speech events. Such use of Quichua is highly marked in that neither the speakers, nor the listeners have a full command of the language. Language use in such occasions diverges from the most communicatively economical system (the one in which interlocutors are competent), to another less efficient, but symbolically more potent code.

> Late on a Sunday afternoon the sports competition series among communities holds its elaborate inaugural ceremony at the Lagunas community center. Before the games begin, a madrina (godmother /S/) of the competitions is elected and the teams file in wearing their uniforms; the last carries a torch which is lit above one of the goals. The director of the sports activities, a tall young man and former president of the community of Lagunas, begins the ceremony with a short speech in Unified Quichua. He pauses and hesitates awkwardly, stumbling over many of his words, obviously speaking his second language. The children, not comprehending the message, look around bored and absently.
>
> (FN 821: 4-2-95).

The overriding goal of the director's talk is demonstration and assertion of indigenous ethnic identity. The central message is not the content of the act or event, but rather the channel in which it is delivered. The fact that neither the speaker nor the listeners are competent in Quichua is unimportant because Quichua is chosen for symbolic rather than communicative purposes.

In Lagunas, then, Quichua is selected primarily for language development and assertion of ethnic identity assertion. Quichua in Tambopamba is used in neither of these ways, but rather employed naturally and regularly for a range of functions in specific contexts. At a more general level, a core difference in language use in the two communities is while Quichua is used in Tambopamba for intimate, personal, and spontaneous talk, in Lagunas, its use is generally self-conscious, planned, and often formal or stilted.

Despite the expressed concern over the acquisition of the language by children, Quichua instruction is sporadic in Lagunas and non-existent in Tambopamba. Parents are less than vigilant about using and teaching Quichua in their homes partially because they place much of the responsibility for language instruction on the school. Many believe that children will have the opportunity to learn the language formally in this context; however, as we will see below, this is generally not the case.

Formal Quichua Instruction

Tambopamba and Lagunas, like nearly all Saraguro communities, each have their own publicly funded primary schools. When first constructed in the 1960s, these schools were perceived to be (and for practical purposes were) outside institutions which brought non-indigenous teachers and Spanish language to the communities. However, in the 1980s and 1990s, as the indigenous organizations gained administrative control of the community schools, indigenous teachers were hired as school instructors, and the community itself played an increasingly larger role in school decisions, this has ceased to be the case. Presently, the organization and pedagogical approach of

each community school are determined locally by community teachers, and to a lesser extent, by community parents.

The Tambopamba and Lagunas schools differ significantly in their pedagogical goals and teaching approaches. The Lagunas school is one of three escuelas activas (active schools /S/) in Saraguro. The pedagogy of these active schools is based on the theory that children learn best through 'hands on' self-directed manipulation of pedagogical materials. Children are provided with the autonomy and structure to work independently with a wide variety of materials in heterogeneously mixed groups; teachers primarily serve as observers and guides. The Tambopamba school is not an active school, but in many ways it is typical of both indigenous and non-indigenous schools in the region. Students are grouped into self-contained hierarchical grades (1-6); classes are teacher fronted and closely follow the nationally distributed texts and workbooks.

Despite these major philosophical and pedagogical differences, there are some striking similarities between the schools. A primary goal of both schools is the instruction of Quichua as a second language and the development of conversational competence in the language among the student body. As part of their aim to promote Quichua, both schools attempt to increase students' metalinguistic awareness and instill positive attitudes toward the language. Teachers regularly discuss the beauty, the history, and the importance of the language.

However, in both schools, a small portion of the five-hour school day focuses on academic tasks (27% in Lagunas; 35% in Tambopamba) and less than a quarter of that academic time involves Quichua development.[9] Furthermore, despite the stated goals of teachers, which emphasize Quichua listening and speaking comprehension, the majority of Quichua instructional activities, especially in the Tambopamba school, targets reading, writing, and translation skills. Indeed, the most frequent Quichua activity in both schools is the decontextualized copying of Quichua words from the text or black board.

The result of this lack of congruence between stated goals and pedagogical practices is that the schools do not capitalize on, nor compensate for the children's level of Quichua exposure outside of school. In Lagunas, where students rarely have the opportunity to hear Quichua around them, Quichua is relegated to yet another school subject, and listening and speaking skills are not stressed. Tambopamba students come to school with receptive knowledge of the language; yet Quichua lessons do not demand that students use Quichua in a communicatively realistic way that would build on what they are exposed to at home.

Having outlined language competencies in Tambopamba and Lagunas and discussed language use patterns in the homes, schools, and communities in some detail, it is now appropriate to examine the cultural and socio-economic processes which lie behinds these patterns. As will be made clear below, conceptions of ethnic identity and the pace and nature of economic development are critically important in determining the success of language revitalization efforts.

Attitudes and Cultural Processes

Although there are differing language competencies and practices in Lagunas and Tambopamba, adults in both communities not only value Quichua and are concerned with its maintenance, but also value their Saraguro indigenous ethnic identity. Parents from both communities believe that not transmitting this identity to their children would be a tragedy. As one Lagunas parent noted, if her children left their indigenous identity behind, for her it would be 'muy mal--no quiero que cambien. Con todo su herencia indígena, nunca van a cambiar' (Very bad. I don't want them to change. With all of their indigenous heritage, they are not going to change /S/) (T 15a). Similarly, as one Tambopamba parent stressed, 'Tenemos que continuar. Es importante no ser mestizo.' (We have to continue. It is important not to be mestizo [of mixed indigenous and European decent /S/] /S/) (T 24a).

Unlike many indigenous groups, the Saraguro population is not immediately threatened by large-scale transculturation to mestizo or white identity. In both communities, maintenance and transmission of Saraguro identity is perceived as important. Indeed, surveys of the region indicate that in recent decades very few Saraguros have transculturated to white identity (Belote & Belote, 1984). Maintenance of indigenous ethnicity throughout Saraguro is signaled primarily through dress and hairstyle. However, in both communities dress alone is not sufficient for marking Saraguro ethnic identity. As Barth maintains, the cultural features that signal the boundary between one group and another vary from community to community, and may change over time given different social circumstances (1969). Critical to understanding the language revitalization process in Saraguro is the fact that the components of indigenous identity are not identical in Lagunas and Tambopamba.

In Lagunas, Quichua plays an important role in marking ethnic identity and is viewed by most as critical to its maintenance. Many members state that disappearance of Quichua would be tantamount to 'losing everything.' As the president of Lagunas commented, if Quichua disappears from the community, 'vamos a perder todo. No solamente el idioma; vamos a perder toda la concepción que tenemos como étnia' (we are going to lose everything. Not only the language, we are going to lose the total conception that we have as an ethnicity /S/) (T 17b). This is the case despite the fact that the language is used relatively infrequently and to a great degree has already lost many of its communicative roles within the community. However, such a situation is not unusual; Hill (1983) suggests that during the final stages of language loss, the threatened language often takes on symbolic importance. Similarly, Fishman (1985) notes that because language is a powerful sign of ethnicity, a group might view its native language as critical to ethnic identity long after it has ceased to be regularly used by group members.

The importance of Quichua as a marker of ethnicity despite its infrequent use in community life is a result of the active and successful participation of Lagunas members outside of their communities in non-indigenous society. As Giles (1979) notes in situations where boundary breakdown between groups is occurring, certain emically defined, 'hard' features, such as language or race, tend to be emphasized. In Lagunas, as the traditional lines between the indigenous and non-indigenous blur, language has been evoked as a 'hard' feature of Saraguro identity and as an emblem of ethnicity. Quichua is no longer valued so much for its communicative power, but rather as an indexical sign of ethnic membership.

In Tambopamba, because members' status as Saraguros is clearly marked by their rural lifestyles and agricultural work, language is not seen to be as critical to ethnic maintenance. Most Tambopamba residents are still engaged exclusively in traditional agriculture as their primary occupation. This fact is an important part of their indigenous identity. Members defined indigenous persons as those, who like themselves, worked in the countryside with animals, didn't mind getting dirty, nor traveling long distances on foot. Because indigenous identity is defined by rural lifestyles in Tambopamba, there is less of a need for Quichua language to take on the role of a primary ethnicity marker.

As Urban notes, 'the linguistic code is just one among numerous markers of identity that can pick out a social group or subgroup, alongside clothing styles, mannerisms, beliefs, ritual practices and so forth' (1991:325). For Lagunas members, Quichua plays an important role in ethnic identity maintenance. For Tambopamba members, Quichua holds less power as an ethnic marker; the socioeconomic and ethnic boundary between indigenous and non-indigenous sectors for Tambopamba residents remains intact through their heavy engagement in traditional agricultural practices. Following DeVos's (1975:17) assertion that 'the ethnic identity of a group of people consists of their subjective symbolic or emblematic use of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups,' the language attitudes and practices of Lagunas and

Tambopamba may be understood as a result of having selected different aspects of their culture for this purpose.

Social and Economic Processes

The language and cultural attitudes of Tambopamba and Lagunas members toward Quichua cannot be disentangled from the social and economic changes which have taken place in the region and which have impacted the communities unevenly. In Saraguro, as in much of Latin America, the history of indigenous-white relations has long been characterized by harsh discrimination against the indigenous sector. Language differences not only have allowed for the instant social classification of individuals according to their native tongue, but also have precluded the possibility of inter group communication and social mobility: in this manner, 'the oppressed language becomes in turn oppressive' (Albó, 1979:313).

All Saraguros have experienced ethnically and linguistically based discrimination. In the past, Quichua monolingualism not only resulted in ridicule and insult by whites for using what was often referred to as the language of animals (T 21a), but also put individuals at a grave disadvantage in business and legal transactions (Belote, 1984). As mentioned above, the location of Lagunas, adjacent to the Pan America Highway and near the town of Saraguro, allowed for frequent contact with whites. This intense contact with the expanding non-indigenous population in the region not only exposed members to the many disadvantages of Quichua, but also provided sufficient access and incentive for acquisition of Spanish. As the linguistic, and later, social barriers between the Lagunas members and town residents lowered, the Lagunas residents were also among the first to begin to participate, in many cases quite successfully, in the wider non-indigenous society.

Since the middle of the century, Lagunas has established itself as a prosperous, relatively well-educated, and socially secure community. A regional survey conducted by the Dirección in 1993 indicates that Lagunas members on average surpass those of Tambopamba on what have traditionally been the two most important economic indicators of the region: land holdings and cattle ownership (Dirección de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe de Loja, no date).[10]

Having had access to Spanish for many decades, Spanish fluency is wide-spread, and even taken for granted among Lagunas members. As the position of Spanish has become secure, Quichua, in turn, has lost its stigma. Indeed, presently for much of Lagunas, Quichua connotes a high status and progressive political orientation. Most young adults who know Quichua have learned it through university study; younger speakers of Quichua are thus the most highly educated and successful of the community. While the parents and grandparents of these young adults abandoned Quichua in order to 'get ahead,' many Lagunas adults are now relatively socio-economically secure and 'far enough away' from Quichua and the rural low-status identity with which it was once associated to find Quichua desirable.

Only in Lagunas is the overt expression of indigenous identity considered in some contexts to be 'hip' or 'cool.' This is reflected in styles of clothing and preferences in music, as well as language usage and competence. The majority of the Lagunas members stated that they felt that interest in ethnic and cultural revitalization was overall on the rise.

> Están cambiando...más interés, más antes no sabían poner el sombrero. Ahora de moda.
> (They are changing...more interest, before they didn't usually wear a hat. Now it's in style. /S/) (T 14a)
>
> Ahora hay más interés en todito lo indígena.
> (Now there is more interest in everything that is indigenous. /S/) (T 5a)

Tambopamba adults, in contrast, do not have the same generational distance from Quichua and have yet to achieve an equivalent level of success in the non-indigenous world. For Tambopamba members, Quichua is still stigmatizing; for them, Quichua fluency is associated with being rural,

uneducated, and low status. Although Quichua is valued for conversing within the community, many Tambopamba members remain insecure about their Spanish language skills and are eager to develop their Spanish competence and transmit what they see to be the language of economic success to their children. In Tambopamba, it is Quichua, not Spanish, which is taken for granted.

As members feel stigmatized by their ethnic identity and language in many contexts, it is not surprising that members commented that they believed there to be less interest in, and less overt expression of indigenous identity in the community.

> Ahorita menos interés, cortando el pelo y cambiando de ropa.
> (Right now less interest, [they're] cutting their hair and changing their clothing. /S/) (T 25b)
>
> Esos días, unos creen que son laichos.
> (These days, some think that they are whites. /S/) (T 25a)

Overall, then, members of Lagunas and especially teens tend to view indigenous ethnicity as valuable, high-status, and even hip, while Tambopamba members attempt to distance themselves from what they perceive as stigmatizing, low status Quichua language and identity. Quichua is sufficiently intergenerationally removed from Lagunas youth to have lost its stigma and to be viewed as desirable, while in Tambopamba this distance from and longing for Quichua language has not (yet) arrived.

Prospects of Quichua Revitalization in Saraguro

The prospects of Quichua acquisition and language revitalization differ for Lagunas and Tambopamba; for neither community, however, is the prognosis very encouraging. Given that for language acquisition to occur, 'children must be in a situation where they are exposed to large amounts of constant speech in the target language, a significant amount of this language must be addressed to them...(and) they must also respond and interact in the language with others' (Brandt, 1988:323), there is considerable cause for concern regarding the amount and kind of

Quichua language exposure in the home and community. In neither Lagunas nor Tambopamba are the conditions necessary for acquisition being fully or even partially met.

In Lagunas, children receive periodic instruction in Quichua, but are surrounded by only a small amount of natural interaction in the language. Moreover, while the children are taught Quichua directly, instruction is limited primarily to object names and a few basic commands. Very rarely is 'whole' or natural Quichua directed at them. Homes where only a few members habitually speak Quichua, such as those in Tambopamba, are also unlikely to successfully transmit the language. Although it is commonly held that language acquisition occurs simply by exposing children to the language, this alone appears to be insufficient for the development of substantial capacities in the language: it is also necessary for children to interact in the language in meaningful contexts. Pye, for example, found that Chilcotin children, though regularly surrounded by their grandparents' use of the ancestral language, were able to successfully 'block out' the language (1992). These Chilcotin children seemed to know no more than children who were not regularly exposed to the language. Children in Tambopamba, although exposed to 'authentic' language, because they are not expected to interact in the language, are not likely to benefit linguistically from this exposure in the long term.

In short, Lagunas children hear relatively little Quichua in the home; what they do hear, although perhaps directed at them, is generally in the form of isolated lexical items and inauthentic practice. Tambopamba children are exposed to a greater amount of natural language in the home, but little of it is directed at them and they are not expected to respond in Quichua. The same patterns are mirrored in the wider community. Thus, given their present home environments, it appears extremely likely that children in both communities will grow into essentially monolingual adults.

While Quichua language acquisition seems very unlikely to occur in the homes and the communities of Tambopamba and Lagunas, the instruction of Quichua as a second language, as it

is presently proceeding in the community schools, is also insufficient for the acquisition of the language to occur. Although the schools differ significantly in their organization, pedagogical approaches, and methods, Quichua instruction at both schools is too limited to allow for development of competence beyond a very basic level. The amount of Quichua is restricted to a few short lessons and activities each week; the functions of Quichua are primarily limited to translating and copying; the content of Quichua instruction is restricted to basic vocabulary items (i.e. color terms, numbers, and parts of the body) and formulaic phrases. There are few authentic or naturalistic uses of language in the school, as teachers infrequently communicate with the children in Quichua, and little meaningful interaction takes place in Quichua. Given the limited amounts and kinds of Quichua instruction and restricted functions of Quichua, there is very little chance that children will develop competence in the language through school instruction either.

Final Notes

Given current patterns of instruction and use, neither community is squarely on the path to restoring Quichua to a primary community language. However, the community of Lagunas, in some ways, has moved closer to revitalizing Quichua. Despite the lower levels of Quichua competence and usage, Lagunas members have successfully developed new uses for the language, purposefully cultivated competence in Quichua and are attempting to transmit the language to new users, all of which are critical to language revitalization, and none of which are occurring in Tambopamba. Tambopamba, in these terms, is clearly several steps behind.

The Lagunas and Tambopamba cases present an interesting and important paradox. In Lagunas, where members give great importance to the maintenance of Quichua and have placed its revitalization high on their community agenda, Quichua is nearly absent from many aspects of community life. The return of Quichua for use in daily interactions would entail a near total and highly unlikely 'resurrection' of the language. In contrast, in Tambopamba, Quichua holds a

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relatively prominent place in the community, but is not prized for symbolic reasons and not viewed as critical to ethnic identity. Here, Quichua revitalization is, in purely linguistic terms, a feasible goal.

The experiences of Lagunas and Tambopamba suggest that the cultural orientation, as well as the socio-economic situation of the communities in which language revitalization initiatives are situated are critical to their success. If individuals no longer seek to identify as members of their ethnic group, or if they are able to mark themselves as members through non-linguistic means such as dress, occupation or lifestyle, language revitalization initiatives are likely to face significant difficulties. Furthermore, even if language assumes the critical role of marking an individual as an ethnic group member, it is possible that the language may be used only for phatic purposes (as may be the case in Lagunas), thus rendering competence and regular usage unnecessary. Social and economic processes are an equally important part of the equation. If substantial numbers of community members are socially and economically marginalized and, more importantly, perceive their native tongue to be stigmatizing and contributing to their low status, it is highly unlikely that these individuals will be convinced (even by fellow group members) to use, much less invest in learning, their group's native tongue.

The Saraguro case provides evidence of how and why the process of language revitalization is likely to be most successful among socially and economically secure populations and among those who view their language as a critical component of an identity they wish to maintain. These socioeconomic and cultural processes at least partially explain the difficulties of many language revitalization efforts and the relatively small number of successful initiatives. Language revitalization planners would do well to take these social, economic, and cultural factors into account where appropriate, and include them as critical parts of their efforts where feasible.

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[1]Terralingua can be found on the World Wide Web (http: //cougar.ucdavis.edu/nas/terralin/home.html); IPOLA can be reached through electronic mail (ipola@roadrunner.com).

[2]The indigenous groups of Ecuador self-identify as different 'nations,' using the term to emphasize their distinct historical and political development and different socio-cultural realities. Their use of the term is also meant to imply rights of self-determination and autonomy.

[3]Quechua is the term used to refer to the varieties spoken in Peru, Bolivia, and parts of northern Chile; Quechua is also the cover term for all varieties of the language. Quichua is used exclusively for varieties in Ecuador. The difference in terms has to do with the varied phonological evolution of the language in Ecuador, as compared to other countries. In the former case, the uvular stop /q/ has been lost, and with it the lowering of the /i/ vowel to /e/ in proximity to the /q/. However, the distinction is primarily an academic one, as the speakers themselves typically refer to their language as runa shimi, or 'human language.'

[4]Different agencies offer varying estimates. The Ministry of Education reports that 2,200,000 of the country's total population of 11,000,000 is indigenous (20%) (von Gleich 1994: 95). The Inter-American Development Bank claims that as much as 40% of the population is indigenous (1990). The indigenous leadership has also placed the number of indigenous residents at 40%-45% (Macas 1993: 114).

[5]During 1994-1995, Lagunas members included teachers who served both in and out of the community, three educational administrators, four development workers, several graduate and undergraduate students temporarily living outside the area, and a group of commercially successful artisans. Half a dozen residents in the community had at one time worked or studied in Quito or Cuenca; several had traveled abroad. Tambopamba's professionals were limited to two teachers, both of whom taught in the community school, one development worker, and one health worker.

[6]Hymes offers a framework for analyzing speech across eight dimensions organized under the mnemonic *SPEAKING*, where: *S* stands for *setting* or *scene*; *P* for *participants*; *E* for *ends* (outcomes and goals); *A* for *act* (both message form and message content); *K* for *key* (tone and manner); *I* for *instrumentals* (channels and forms); *N* for *norms* (interaction and interpretation); and *G* for *genres*. For Hymes, *ends* consist of both the 'conventionally recognized and expected outcomes' (1967; 1989: 61), and the individual aim or goal of an event or act. The *act* is comprised of both the 'message form' and the 'message content'. *Participants* for Hymes include the 'speaker, or sender, the addresser, the hearer, or receiver, or audience, and the addressee' (60). Hymes understood the *setting* to consist of physical

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circumstances, such as the time and place of the event, while the scene 'designates the 'psychological setting'' (61). And *key* for Hymes referred to the tone and manner of the event of act, whether it was, for example, comic and humorous or serious and respectful.

[7]Transcriptions in the text are provided in their original form, in either Quichua (/Q/) or Spanish (/S/), accompanied by their English translation. The number of the tape (T) or the number of the field note (FN) and the date of the observation are also provided.

[8]Myers-Scotton's analysis 'relies on the premise that participants in conversation interpret all code choices in terms of a natural theory of markedness' (1983: 115). The norms of the community designate specific language choices as the marked or unmarked realization of the relationship between interlocutors.

[9]This figure is based upon 60 hours of timed tabulation of student (Lagunas) or class (Tambopamba) activities.

[10]Tambopamba residents held on average 7.5 heads of cattle, Lagunas members on average held 9. Even more telling, however, is that while each head of household in Lagunas estimates that his family owns or rents 32 hectares of land, in Tambopamba the average is only 12.2 hectares. Tambopamba residents make their living nearly exclusively from the land, while many Lagunas residents are employed and earning salaries. Thus, the survey probably underestimates the wealth differential between the communities.

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